

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05

CIAE-00 PM-03 DODE-00 EA-06 PRS-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SAJ-01

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4220

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 18311

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GW CH

SUBJECT: FRG CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT APPROACHES THE SUMMIT

REFS: (A) BONN 15855 DTG 261755Z SEP 75 (NOTAL)

(B) BONN 17852 DTG 311638Z SEP 75 (NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT IS LOOKING FORWARD TO THE PARIS SUMMIT WITH SOME ANTICIPATION. HE FINDS THAT KIND OF TOP-LEVEL EXCHANGE MORE CONGENIAL THAN THE POLITICKING HE MUST DO AT THE SPD CONGRESS NEXT WEEK. THOUGH HIS MOOD AT THE SUMMIT WILL BE AFFECTED BY HIS ABILITY TO CONTROL THAT CONGRESS, HIS BASIC PURPOSE WILL REMAIN THE SAME: TO TRY TO USE THE SUMMIT TO ADVANCE WITH OTHERS TOWARD COMMON SOLUTIONS OF WORLD PROBLEMS AND TO TRY TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT HE AND OTHER LEADERS OF THE DEMOCRACIES ARE IN CONTROL OF EVENTS INSTEAD OF FRUSTRATED AND OVERWHELMED BY THE DIFFICULTIES THAT CONFRONT THEM. END SUMMARY.

1. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT PROBABLY APPROACHES THE SUMMIT IN PARIS WITH SOME ANTICIPATION. SCHMIDT BELIEVES THAT FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS ARE BEST HANDLED IN DIRECT COLLABORATION AMONG HEADS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT GOVERNMENTS. THIS CONVICTION, REINFORCED BY THE URGENCY THAT HE PLACES ON FINDING A SOLUTION TO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, CAUSED SCHMIDT TO WELCOME GISCARD'S PROPOSAL FOR THE PARIS SUMMIT.

2. SCHMIDT MAY EVEN GREET THE SUMMIT, DESPITE ITS DEMANDS, WITH SOME SENSE OF RELIEF. IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE SUMMIT HE WILL BE FACING WHAT HE HAS DESCRIBED TO SOME ASSOCIATES AS HIS "WORST WEEK OF THE YEAR" -- THE SPD PARTY CONGRESS. HE, TOGETHER WITH BRANDT AND WEHNER, MUST BEND EVERY EFFORT TO PREVENT THAT CONGRESS
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FROM TURNING INTO A CONFUSED AND CACOPHONOUS ARENA FOR THE PUBLIC DISPLAY OF INTERNECINE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC SQUABBLES. SOME OF THOSE SQUABBLES, AS OVER GOVERNMENT CONTROLS OF INVESTMENT AND OVER MEMBERSHIP OF THE PARTY EXECUTIVE BOARD, CAN EASILY BOIL UP IN A MANNER THAT CAN DO SERIOUS DAMAGE TO THE SPD IMAGE AND CAUSE.

3. SCHMIDT ALSO FACES DIFFICULTIES OF A MORE BASIC

NATURE. HE CANNOT NOW MOVE FREELY OR DECISIVELY EITHER IN THE DOMESTIC OR IN THE FOREIGN FIELD. MANY ISSUES THAT VITALLY AFFECT HIS POLITICAL CHANCES ARE BEYOND HIS CONTROL. HE IS COMPELLED TO AWAIT THE OUTCOME OF DEVELOPMENTS MORE THAN TO SHAPE THEM, A SITUATION THAT WOULD BE FRUSTRATING FOR ANYBODY BUT EVEN MORE FOR HIM.

4. IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THE EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW WEEKS HAVE CREATED THE IMPRESSION HERE THAT EAST-WEST RELATIONS -- ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO GERMANY -- ARE ENTERING A TIME OF STAGNATION. FOR REASONS THAT CAN ONLY BE DIMLY PERCEIVED FROM BONN, AND THAT APPEAR TO RELATE MORE TO SOVIET INTERNAL DISPUTES THAN TO SPECIFIC GERMAN POLICIES, NEGOTIATION OF SEVERAL FRG-USSR BILATERAL AGREEMENTS APPEAR TO BE STALLED UNLESS THE GERMANS MAKE CONCESSIONS THAT WOULD BE DOMESTICALLY UNACCEPTABLE. AT THE SAME TIME, FURTHER FRG AGREEMENTS WITH THE GDR ON TRANSIT ACCESS ARE HUNG UP OVER MATTERS OF MONEY AND DETAILS OF TRANSIT IMPROVEMENTS THAT

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AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USLO PEKING
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
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CANNOT BE EASILY RESOLVED THOUGH THE DEADLINE FOR REACHING AT LEAST SOME NEW ACCORDS (JANUARY, 1976) IS FAST APPROACHING. PROGRESS ON EAST EUROPEAN RELATIONS IS EVASIVE AS WELL AS EXPENSIVE AND THE FRG-POLISH DEAL HAS NOT BEEN A DOMESTIC POLITICAL ASSET THOUGH SCHMIDT'S PROBLEMS WITH IT HAVE BEEN ALLEVIATED BY THE OPPOSITION'S INCAPACITY TO REACH AN AGREED POLICY.

5. SCHMIDT HAS ALSO BEEN VOICING CONCERN DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS OVER THE NON-PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION. HE IS IRRITATED AT WILSON FOR INSISTING ON A SEPARATE UK SEAT AT THE CIEC. DISDAINFUL OF INTERNATIONAL BUREAUCRACY AND INCREASINGLY ASSERTIVE OF GERMANY'S RELATIVE ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND GROWING POLITICAL PRESTIGE, SCHMIDT HAS REMINDED HIS EC COLLEAGUES THAT GERMANY IS NO LONGER THE MILK COW OF EUROPE. ALTHOUGH THE OPPOSITION AND EVEN HIS COALITION PARTNERS REGARD HIM AS AT BEST LUKEWARM ON EUROPEAN ISSUES, SCHMIDT DOES NOT WANT TO SEE THE EUROPEAN UNITY MOVEMENT STALL OR EVEN RETREAT AT THIS TIME.

6. SCHMIDT'S VISIT TO CHINA HAS NOT ALTERED THE GERMAN

SENSE OF LACK OF DRAMATIC PROGRESS IN FOREIGN POLICY. IT PRODUCED NO VISIBLE BENEFITS FOR THE CHANCELLOR OR FOR THE FRG AND IT MAY HAVE IRRITATED THE SOVIETS. IF THE VISIT PROVED ANYTHING, IT WAS THAT THE FRG WAS NOT YET READY TO PLAY GLOBAL POLITICS AT THE MOST SENIOR LEVEL.

7. ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE, SCHMIDT HAS DONE SOMEWHAT BETTER THE LAST FEW WEEKS. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE CDU/CSU OVER THE POLISH AGREEMENT AGAIN REINFORCES THE IMPRESSIONS THAT THE CDU/CSU FACES SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN FORGING A MEANINGFUL EASTERN POLICY AND THAT KOHL CANNOT CONTROL HIS OWN PARTY, LET ALONE FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN SIGNS OF SOME LIMITED ECONOMIC
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UPTURN, THOUGH IT IS STILL DOUBTFUL THAT THE UPTURN -- ESPECIALLY IN EMPLOYMENT -- WILL BE STRONG ENOUGH TO ASSURE SCHMIDT'S COALITION VICTORY. MOREOVER, THE FDP CONGRESS LENT APPARENTLY FULL SUPPORT TO GENSCHER'S POLICY OF CONTINUING THE COALITION WITH THE SPD BEYOND 1976 AND HAS THUS -- AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT -- POSED FOR THE OPPOSITION THE MOUNTAINOUS TASK OF GAINING AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY NEXT YEAR. IF THE SPD EMERGES FROM ITS CONGRESS WITHOUT TOO MANY OPEN WOUNDS, SCHMIDT AND THE PARTY, WHICH LAGS BEHIND HIM IN POPULAR SUPPORT, WILL BE IN THE KIND OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL POSITION THAT WILL ALLOW HIM TO DEAL WITH CONFIDENCE ON SUMMIT MATTERS. BUT THE YEAR AHEAD REMAINS FULL OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PITFALLS FOR THE GOVERNMENT, AND SCHMIDT WILL BE ACTUELY SENSITIVE TO THESE DURING HIS MEETINGS.

8. THE CHANCELLOR KNOWS THAT THE STAKES IN PARIS ARE HIGH. HIS VAUNTED PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH GISCARD AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, HIS ADVOCACY OF COORDINATION OF US AND OTHER NATIONAL POLICIES, WILL BE ON THE TABLE. SUCCESS AT THE SUMMIT -- IN THE SENSE OF SOME COMMON AGREEMENT ON HOW TO DEAL WITH INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES -- WILL HELP TO PERSUADE HIM THAT THE WEST IS ON THE RIGHT PATH. FAILURE WILL LEAVE HIM DISTURBED, DEPRESSED, AND SOMEWHAT BEREFT AT A VITAL POINT OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY.

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AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

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9. IN THE BACKGROUND WILL LIE GERMANY'S WORRY OVER THE THIRD WORLD AND THE THREAT IT PRESENTS TO THE WEST'S STABILITY THROUGH ITS CONTROL OF KEY RESOURCES AND THROUGH ITS DRIVE FOR GREATER STATIST INTERVENTION IN THE WORLD MARKETING SYSTEM. CRITICIZED WITHIN GERMANY FOR ACCEPTING THE OUTCOME OF THE UNGA SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION WITHOUT RESERVATIONS, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WILL BE SLOW TO ACCEPT A MOVE TOWARD A DIRIGISTIC SYSTEM. GERMANY WILL LOOK TO THE CIEC BOTH TO SATISFY AND CONTROL THE THIRD WORLD'S APPETITE FOR CHANGE AND INCREASED ECONOMIC INFLUENCE.

10. ON THE FRINGES OF THE CONFERENCE SCHMIDT MAY SEEK REASSURANCES THAT OUR RECENT CABINET CHANGES DO NOT MEAN THAT WE HAVE PLACED DETENTE OVER DEFENSE. HE MAY ALSO TRY TO CLEAR UP SOME UNFINISHED BILATERAL BUSINESS SUCH AS OFFSET. BUT ABOVE ALL ELSE, SCHMIDT WILL PRESS FOR COORDINATION OF ECONOMIC POLICIES AND FOR

GREATER US READINESS TO TAKE OTHER NATIONS' NEEDS INTO ACCOUNT IN SHAPING OUR OWN ECONOMIC STRATEGY.

11. SCHMIDT MAY ALSO WISH TO BRIEF THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY PERSONALLY ON HIS VISIT TO CHINA. THIS KIND OF EXCHANGE, IN WHICH HE CAN DEAL WITH US AS A FELLOW WORLD LEADER, PROFOUNDLY PLEASES SCHMIDT.

12. THE MAIN QUESTION FOR SCHMIDT, HOWEVER, REMAINS WHETHER THE SUMMIT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE STABLE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CLIMATE THAT HE REGARDS AS ESSENTIAL FOR THE WELL-BEING OF GERMANY AND FOR THE SUCCESS OF HIS PARTY. SCHMIDT MUST FEEL INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED AT HIS INABILITY TO DEAL WITH GERMAN PROBLEMS IN FOREIGN POLICY AND AT THE RELATIVE INTRACTABILITY OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AT WHICH HE REGARDS HIMSELF SO CONFIDENTIAL

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EXPERT. HE HAS LOOKED TIRED OF LATE AND HAS COMPLAINED TO ASSOCIATES OF THE STAGGERING BURDENS AND FRUSTRATIONS OF HIS POSITION. HE WILL HOPE THAT THE SUMMIT WILL PRODUCE THE IMAGE AND -- PREFERABLY -- THE REALITY OF COMMON FORWARD MOVEMENT AMONG THE LEADING ECONOMIC NATIONS OF THE WORLD.
HILLENBRAND

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